

# Acculturation on the Portuguese historical narrative: Gilberto Freyre's contributions and limitations

*A aculturação na narrativa histórica portuguesa:  
as contribuições e limitações de Gilberto Freyre*

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## ABSTRACT

This paper interpreted the theory of Gilberto Freyre under the light of the Berry and the Rudmin models. The Portuguese culture preferred the dimensions of the fusion model. The Portuguese was different regarding the Anglo-Saxon culture, because were reported interactions and learning second cultures. Furthermore, motivations regulated cultural attitudes. However, the Freyre's theory worked on the Portuguese culture as a consensual ideology, because the three samples preferred simultaneously real and ideal appraisals. The three samples preferred to mix cultures, yet they had different appraisals according to their social status. Furthermore, the samples preferred cultural mixtures, regardless that they answered that the intercultural relationships would not change the Portuguese culture. That contradiction reported the major limitation of the Freyre theory. The main article contribution was to report Europeans and Westerns learning second cultures, and mainly to report the majority appraisals about their own cultural changes.

*Key words: acculturation, emic, Gilberto Freyre, fusion model, migrations*

## RESUMO

Este artigo interpretou a teoria de Gilberto Freyre à luz dos modelos da aculturação de Berry e de Rudmin. A cultura portuguesa preferiu as dimensões do modelo da fusão, sendo distinta da anglo-saxónica, pois foram reportadas interações e aprendizagens, sendo ainda que as motivações regularam as atitudes. Contudo, a teoria de Freyre operou na cultura portuguesa como uma ideologia consensual, pois existiram, em simultâneo, uma avaliação real e outra ideal. As três amostras tiveram diferentes avaliações, consoante os seus estatutos sociais, apesar de preferirem as misturas interculturais. As três amostras responderam que as relações interculturais não alteraram a cultura portuguesa, contudo preferiram as misturas culturais. Esta contradição reportou a principal limitação da teoria de Freyre. A principal contribuição deste artigo assentou em reportar os europeus e os ocidentais a aprenderem segundas culturas e sobretudo em reportar as avaliações da maioria acerca da sua mudança cultural.

*Palavras-chave: aculturação, emic, Gilberto Freyre, modelo de fusão, migrações*

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## Introduction

This article aimed to read the thesis of Gilberto Freyre (1986/1933) under the light of the Rudmin (2009) and the Berry Models (1997, 2001). According to Taft (1973), acculturation was influenced by national ideologies and by cultural contexts (Coenders, Lubbers Scheepers & Verkuyten, 2008). On the present paper it was still supposed that ideologies and cultural backgrounds shaped the reaction towards the current intercultural relationships (László, 2003), mainly the Portuguese emigration and immigration. This paper presumed that there was a lack of equivalence on the acculturation concept among the Anglo-Saxon, and the Portuguese and the Brazilian cultures. Therefore, the paper proposed an emic perspective about the acculturation phenomenon, and more than testing hypotheses it aimed to provide a theoretical elaboration (McGuire, 1973). The main article contribution was to report Europeans and Westerners learning second cultures, and mainly to report the majority appraisals about their own cultural changes.

### 1. Acculturation definition

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The acculturation phenomenon is defined by its fundamental dimensions, i.e., intercultural contact, mutual interaction among different cultures (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936), learning a second culture (Powell, 1880; Rudmin, 2009), and finally by cultural changes at individual (Graves, 1967) and at collective levels (Malinowski, 1958). It is important to notice that intercultural changes may reinterpret the cultural legacy of a given culture (Barth, 1969), because acculturation is a dynamic process of cultural creation (Boas, 1982/1940; Malinowski, 1958/1945). It is also important to observe that acculturation is regulated by strong motivations, because it is often asymmetric and antagonistic.

### 2. Acculturation models

Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2006) pointed out to the existence of three acculturation models; assimilation, multicultural and fusion. Castro (2012, 2014a, b, 2015, 2016a, b, c, d, e; Castro & Rudmin, 2016) added the intercultural model, which was supposed to match on the Francophone cultural background of France and of Quebec (Meer & Modood, 2011; Taylor, 2012).

According to Castro (2014a, b, d), on the assimilation model the minority is expected to disappear, after to adjust completely the dominant culture. The mutual learning will not be reported on the expected outcome, i.e., the assimilation of the minority by the majority culture. The European policies of cultural uniformity on the 19th century, the Chicago School conceptualization (Park, 1928) and the work of Gordon (1964) are examples of the assimilation model.

On the multicultural model the minority is expected to adapt the dominant culture, and simultaneously to maintain its culture. On the multicultural model only the minority learns outsider cultures. Furthermore, majority and minority are only interacting on the larger society. It is important to notice that cultural separation between the two cultures may not drive to segregation, but to a reduced interaction, which is promoted by the majority. The White, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant culture and the Berry Model (1974) are examples of the multicultural approach.

On the fusion model there are interactions, mutual learning, and cultural mixtures (Herskovits, 1938; Simons, 1901a, b, c, d, 1902) among different cultures, which will produce a new culture (Freyre, 1986/1933; LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993; Ortiz, 1995/1940). There is also internal diversity (Bastide, 1968, 1971; Castro, 2012, 2014a; Rudmin, Wang & Castro, 2015), because cultures are adding cultural traits to each other. The Brazilian culture, the Freyre (1986/1933) and the Ortiz (1995/1940) theories are examples of the model.

On the intercultural model at private and at individual levels the minority may interact, change or maintain its culture, because of the majority *laissez-faire* point of view. At public level the minority is expected to adapt the majority culture, for example, at school and at workplace. However, at institutional level the intercultural relationship is reduced. The values of the French Republic are examples of the model, because they are not expected to change, due to the action and the cultural influence of minority culture. The intercultural policy of Quebec is another example (Meer & Modood, 2011; Taylor, 2012).

### 3. Relationship between culture and acculturation

Acculturation is a way of cultural creation, in addition to innovation (Boas, 1982/1940) and to cultural diffusion. Innovation occurs inside a certain culture. In turn, acculturation takes place on the intercultural relationship among different cultures. Innovation, diffusion and acculturation often cause conflicts, due to cultural changes. Accultu-

ration is often an antagonistic phenomenon among dissimilar cultures (Devereux & Loeb, 1943; McGee, 1898). Conflicts may be also visible even inside a certain culture, because the reaction regarding cultural change may have different acculturative positions, depending of the sociocultural and socioeconomic backgrounds.

#### 4. Cultural plasticity as a Portuguese fundamental trait

In 1933, Freyre wrote *The masters and the slaves: A study in the development of Brazilian civilization* (Freyre, 1986/1933). The book portrayed an intercultural comparison among the Portuguese colonization in Brazil, and the colonization of other European empires, in particular the Anglo-Saxon. On the Anglo-Saxon settlements, according to Freyre (1961), ‘...from a sociological point of view... the selection should be only in one direction’ (Freyre, 1961, p. 58). Freyre stated that the Portuguese were more tolerant and more fitting than other Europeans to acquire cultural adaptation. Furthermore, the Portuguese adaptation resulted on a culture of fusion (Castro, 2015; Rudmin, et al., 2015). In the North of Brazil the Portuguese culture, according to Freyre, drove to social harmony, because of paternalistic and agrarian cultures, ‘...by intimate living together with native people... always a new and symbiotic...’ (Freyre, 1961, p. 39). Thus, according to Freyre, the Brazilian intercultural relationships had two directions.

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The Freyre’s thesis (1986) became a cultural landmark in Portugal and in Brazil (Burke & Pallares-Burke, 2008). Freyre conceptualized a consensus ideology that was previously grounded on the Portuguese historical narrative (Almeida, 2004, 2007; Castro, 2016a). The travels of Fernão Mendes Pinto were, according to Freyre (1961), the paradigm of the Portuguese cultural plasticity (Souza, 2000). Fernando Mendes Pinto revealed a great plasticity to learn second cultures in a ‘successful’ way (Freyre, 1961; Vala, Lopes & Lima, 2008). Fernão Mendes Pinto (1509-10?/11-1583) was an adventurer, an explorer, a merchant, a writer, and a religious person. *He wrote The travels of Mendes Pinto* (Catz, 1989; Pinto, 1974/1614), and it was a success. On the psychological literature about acculturation, Taft (1981) wrote about immigrants who easily adjust cultures without change their ethnic identities. Taft (1981) called that phenomenon of marginalization by mediation. The behavior of Fernão Mendes Pinto falls under the Taft’s categorization. Afterwards, Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee and Morris (2002), and LaFromboise, et al., (1993) employed the word acculturation to describe that behaviour.

On the 50s of the 20th century, Freyre travelled to the Portuguese colonies, extending his theory to the remaining Portuguese colonial empire. He called it of luso-tropicalism (Freyre, 1961). After the 50s, Freyre was 'fostered by the Portuguese dictatorship, because the Portuguese political elite began to look at the colonies (Alexander, 1999), taking into account the Brazilian culture of fusion as an example of 'success' (Venâncio & Moreira, 2000). The stereotype about the Portuguese plasticity persists until today, under a political system that desires to be democratic, 'All of those elements are to be found in the representations of Portuguese identity before and after Freyre.' (Almeida, 2004, p. 48)

According to Araújo and Maeso (2010), some of the dimensions of the luso-tropical consensus ideology are still working on the Portuguese culture, due to high school socialization. Consequently, the luso-tropical thesis may perhaps survive on future generations (Cabecinhas, 2010; Vala, et al., 2008). On the current article it was just approached the main work of Freyre (1986/1933), i.e., *The masters and the slaves: A study in the development of Brazilian civilization*, due to the tricky content of the luso-tropical thesis, because it was related with asymmetric power relationships, and mainly because it may convey ideological content.

## 5. Research goals and hypotheses

The article was the outcome of a doctoral dissertation prepared by Castro (2014a, b). However, it was independent. On the Castro (2014a, b) doctoral dissertation the Portuguese emigration topic was included to accomplish two general goals. The first goal was to contextualize and to explore the Portuguese cultural background on the acculturation topic. The second main goal was to approach acculturation as a reciprocal learning phenomenon (Rudmin, 2009). The doctoral dissertation applied the mixed method (Clark & Creswell, 2011), so different methodological techniques. Castro applied; content analysis, ethnographic fieldwork in Metz, France, among Portuguese emigrants. The ethnographic fieldwork was also applied in Oporto, Portugal, among the Cape Verdean community and, finally, psychometric analysis, employing the *Portuguese Elementary Acculturation Questionnaire* (Castro, 2014a, b).

The first hypothesis (H 1) was searched mainly by content analysis (2014a, b); because it was assumed that the Portuguese historical narrative about acculturation was different regarding the pervasive psycho-

logical literature, i.e., the Berry Model (1997). The cultural difference implied a lack of equivalence on the acculturation concept. Thus, the current research presumed that the Portuguese historical narrative was close to the fusion model.

The presumed Portuguese luso-tropical characteristic drove to the H 2. The acculturation process described by Freyre (1986/1933) was antagonistic, and on the current research was supposed that on the Portuguese historical narrative motivations were regulating cultural attitudes. This article still presumed that acculturation (learning) was motivated by extrinsic motivations (Rudmin, 2009); mainly by social and economic profits. However, learning a second culture was also shaped, albeit with less emphasis, by intrinsic motivations such as curiosity and adventure, which was corresponding to the H 2.1.

The importance of motivations on the Portuguese historical narrative led the research to establish a comparison between the Freyre's thesis and the Portuguese current reactions regarding intercultural relationships; immigration and emigration. Thus, the Freyre's thesis was supposed to be a consensus ideology on the Portuguese culture, because acculturative preferences (attitudes) may change according to the samples motivations. It was revealing that the Portuguese cultural background is complex, because the choices were relative and selective, corresponding to the H 3. Taking into account the work of Myrdal (1944), on the current article was assumed that there were simultaneously different appraisals, i.e., a 'real' and an 'ideal', which corresponded to H 3.1. As Navas et al. (2005) reported the same preference was not always applied and the same acculturative preference took place on different domains.

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## 6. Gilberto Freyre on the Rudmin and the Berry Models

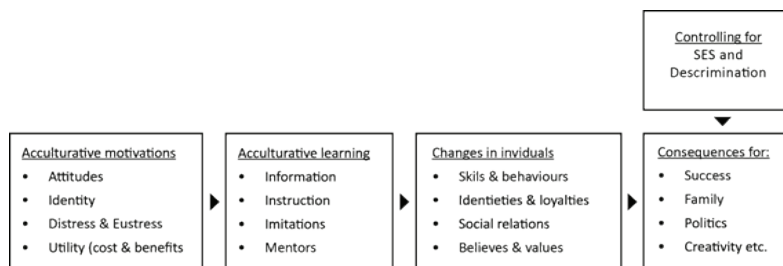
The Berry Model involved two dimensions, which were formulated as questions and were devised as independents. The Berry Model (1974, 1997) implied that both cultures had nothing in common (Bowskill, Lyons & Coyle, 2007). The model also encompassed that there were only two cultures in contact, and those cultures were homogeneous. Finally, the psychometric scale was forced, because it had not any non-response (Rudmin, 2003).

Dimension 1. Is it considered to be of value to maintain the cultural identity and characteristics?		
	YES	NO
Dimension 2: Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups?	YES	INTEGRATION
	NO	ASSIMILATION
	SEPARATION	MARGINALIZATION

Figure number one, minority strategies. Source: adapted from Berry (1997)

As it is visible on Figure number one, the two dimensions or questions of the Berry Model were: it is considered valuable to maintain the identity and cultural characteristics? And the next question is: is considered valuable to maintain relations with other groups? The minority preference provided four strategies; integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization (which were applied only about and to the minority cultural group).

Berry (2001) complemented the cultural strategies (minority preferences) with the majority expectations. The majority expectations were the expectations of the majority group about how the minority should learn (adjust) a second culture (but, not the appraisals about the majority cultural changes). The majority preference or attitude between cultural maintenance and intercultural contact resulted in four



acculturative attitudes, i.e., multicultural, melting pot, segregation and exclusion.

Figure number two, Rudmin Model. Source: Adapted from Rudmin (2009)

Rudmin (2009) devised an acculturation model with three stages, and he provided importance to learning and to motivations. As it is observable on the Figure number two, on the Rudmin Model (2009) the first stage was placed on the acculturative motivations. On the second stage was learning, and on the third stage were changes in individuals and their consequences. Discrimination and socioeconomic status (SES) were separated from learning a second culture (acculturation). Discrimination and SES were control variables in order to avoid contamination on acculturative motivations and on learning. Discrimination and SES were not acculturation by themselves, but they may shape learning a second culture.

Taking into account the main work of Freyre (1986/1933), the word 'integration' (Berry, 1997) was not appropriated, because in Brazil the Portuguese was the ruler culture, and not the minority group. In Brazil the Portuguese expectations (see Figure number two) did not fit on the multicultural model, because the Portuguese position was not neutral and liberal. The work of Freyre under the light of the Rudmin Model (2009), noticed that the Portuguese adaptation was related to utility decisions. In Brazil the shortage of manpower was the cause ascribed by Freyre to explain the miscegenation. Thus, mixtures were a utility decision (Almeida, 2007; Freyre, 1986/1933). The minority cultural influences were reported on work of Freyre (1986/1933), yet it was done by asymmetric power relationships (Souza, 2000).

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The Berry Model was grounded on the majority minimal intervention, and allowed the cultural maintenance of the minority. However, integration also drove to a reduced interaction between both cultures. The reduced interaction created a third social space, i.e., the larger society. According to Vala et al. (2008), the British colonial relationships were characterized by social distance among the colonizers and the colonized cultural groups. The political expression of this separation was the British indirect rule (Hobsbawm, 1990). Vala and Lima (2002) wrote that on the Berry Model the acculturative direction only went from the minority to the majority, thus it only had one-way. On the Portuguese cultural background, Machado (2006) and Rocha-Trindade (2010) also observed that multiculturalism drove to minimal intercultural interaction. Therefore, the main difference between the Anglo-Saxon and the Portuguese cultures was that on the latter mixtures and shared cultures were reported. Another difference was that acculturation was done by cultural intervention. Furthermore, the



sociological ‘reality’ provided ground to the Freyre comparison. The Brazilian miscegenation was a consensus ideology, and it was also an observable social ‘reality’ (Cardoso, 2003). Yet, on the United States, there were low percentages of mixed marriages (Qian & Lichter, 2007). The USA and the Brazilian census were useful to reinforce the cross-cultural comparison. In 2010, the overwhelming majority (97%) of the USA population reported only one race, and just 3% of the total population reported more than one race. In USA there were 72% of whites, 13% of African-Americans, 5% of Asians, 0.9% American Indians and Alaska Natives, and 0.2% of Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders (U. S. Census Bureau, 2011). In Brazil, according to Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE, 2011), in 2010 the population was composed by 47,7% of Whites, 43% of Pardos, 7, 6% of Blacks, 1,1% of Asians, and 0,42% of Indigenous citizens. The label Pardos included all possible mixtures among Whites, Indigenous, and Afro-Brazilians. Regardless the ethnic difference between USA and Brazil, it is important to state that mixtures of cultures (‘races’) are not a solution by themselves for the intercultural conflicts. As Lévi-Strauss (1952) wrote, ‘race’ is just a main factor that may hide a more fundamental problem; the difficulty of live together.

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The Portuguese and the Brazilian cultures were grounded on intervention (direct rule), on interaction and on fusion. And the Brazilian culture assumed that fusion was the best solution for intercultural relationships (Holanda, 1948; Ribeiro, 1995). However, the Portuguese cultural background was also grounded on a utilitarian point of view (Rudmin, 2009), and on asymmetric relationships.

Freyre praised the fusion of cultures (Almeida, 2007; Burke & Pallares-Burke, 2008) in a time of eugenic ideas and racism, as the works of Nina Rodrigues (1934/1894) and of Spencer (1873). However, Freyre made an imprecision when he wrote that the Portuguese people were more able to get cultural adaptation than other European settlers. He transformed that cultural trait into something essentialist. Currently, the concept of ‘race’ was replaced by the notion of culture (Lima & Vala, 2002; Pettigrew & Meertens 1995), by nationalistic ideologies, and by the notion of ethnic identity (Zagefka, 2009). Therefore, as the phenotype features, cultural traits may be also perceived as immutable and intrinsic (Verkuyten, 2003; Zagefka, 2009). Finally, cultural traits can legitimize asymmetric relationships (Deschamps, Vala, Marinho, Costa-Lopes & Cabecinhas, 2005; Vala, Lopes & Brito, 1999). Another limitation of the Freyre’s theory is based on the fact that his view

was Eurocentric, because the comparison regarding the Anglo-Saxon culture was confined to the European cultures.

A common criticism endorsed to Freyre was based on the fact that the author allegedly did not provide attention to racism on the Brazilian society (Skidmore, 1998), and later on India (Souza, 2000). However, on the Freyre's thesis, the notion of 'race' appeared connected to a cultural approach (Almeida, 2007). Freyre approached the social reality by a distant anthropological point of view (Lévi-Strauss, 1986). Yet, social and racial conflicts were taken into account. Thus, that criticism is not robust, because Freyre praised cultural mixtures and shared cultures. Freyre took into account conflicts, and it was not connected with social evolutionism of Spencer, but with Marx. On the American Anthropologist journal, Tax (1941), Vogt (1955) and Polgar (1960) described the multicultural model, and intercultural conflicts only occurred during fusion (mainly of the majority Spanish culture), and the multicultural society was considered as peaceful. Furthermore, Freyre reported the Europeans as learning the African and the Indigenous cultures. Beyond racism and asymmetrical relationships, it is necessary to state that on the work of Freyre (1986/1933) was also present the gender discrimination.

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According to Castro (2014a, b), another weak point of the Freyre thesis was his teleological point of view. The mixture of 'races' was perceived as a way to establish social harmony, not taking into account further sources of conflicts than 'race'. Furthermore, the current Brazilian ethnic identities were made by mixtures and other mixtures will prevail on the future, making new cultural differentiations, and possibly new ethnic conflicts (Barth, 1969). On the current article it is important to state that violence and discrimination were focused taking into account the work of Elias and Scotson (1994/1965). Violence and discrimination may change according to who is the 'established' and who is the 'outsider' at a certain moment and territory. Moreover, it is possible that there are several social actors, and their power positions may change (Foucault, 1966, 1980).

The comparison between the Gilberto Freyre (1986/1933) conceptualization and the Berry Model (1974) was a tricky task, because one of the fundamental questions of the Berry Model (1997) was based on cultural maintenance (it is important to highlight that the question was just ascribed for and about the minority culture). For that reason, the Berry Model was not fitting on the Portuguese cultural background. On the Portuguese historical narrative the Portuguese people

were open to intercultural contact, and they were presumably able to acquire cultural adaptation to any culture. However, they omitted to answer to the Portuguese cultural maintenance question. Lourenço (1989) noticed that inconsistency between the supposed Portuguese plasticity and acculturation (learning) towards other cultures. The Portuguese were presumed to merger with other cultures, without change their own culture. As Lévi-Strauss stated, ‘...fully achieved the full communication with the other, it condemned sooner or later the originality of their culture and mine.’ (1986, p. 48) – quote was translated by the researcher. As Touraine stated (2007), ‘The absolute multiculturalist hypothesis is as absurd as that of the cultural homogeneity of a city or country. Intercultural relations are the only reality – and they are what need to be studied, from trampling over the other to cultural mixing.’ (p. 153).

The Freyre’s thesis was also useful to report that in order to understand the acculturation phenomenon it was necessary to take into account the historical and the cultural backgrounds. Hence, the Portuguese cultural background was different regarding the Anglo-Saxon. On the Portuguese culture acculturation was done by interaction and by cultural intervention on other cultures. In turn, on the Anglo-Saxon culture acculturation was achieved through non-intervention, and also by a reduced intercultural interaction. Detocqueville reported it, ‘Thus while the French exercised no salutary influence over the Indians, the English have always remained alien from them’. (2002/1835, p. 379). Mutual recognition of cultural difference and even different cultures living on the same territory are not enough to describe a real intercultural relationship. For example, Spencer praised cultural maintenance, diversity and the recognition of cultures living on the same planet; however he praised also minimal interaction and a hierarchy of cultures. The same can be stated about mixed marriages, because they may entail gender and ethnic asymmetric power relationships.

On the French cultural background, Bastide (1973), Serres (1991) and Todd (1994) confirmed that the Anglo-Saxon culture worked by minimal interaction. In addition, it is important to emphasize that the Portuguese culture reported intercultural exchanges. Yet, it was based on asymmetric power relationships. Myrdal (1944) reported the difference between the ideal and real situations on the North American Anglo-Saxon culture. According to Frazier (1942, 1949), who was an Afro-American sociologist from the Chicago School, acculturation was a phenomenon that implied to learn a second culture, and assi-

milation was a process that encompassed acculturation. Yet, assimilation required individual identification with the new ethnic group and mainly the validation of the new ethnic identity by the majority group. Hence, Afro-Americans were assimilated at cultural level, but not at social level, because they were discriminated and even segregated. Detocqueville (2002/1835) was maybe the first author to consider the outcomes of the intercultural relationships among the Europeans, Afro-Americans and American Indians as a crime against Human Rights.

## 6.1 The supposed Portuguese plasticity confronted with the PEAQ

Often, the historical narratives are formulated according to the needs of the current days (László, 2003), providing a positive value to social groups (László, Vincze & Somogyvári, 2003). Often, the past is perceived in a positive way, and it is perceived as opposed to recent events (Pennebaker, Páez & Deschamps, 2006). In consequence, all the violence intrinsic to discoveries and to colonisation was not often remembered (Kilomba, 2010; Nabuco, 1908, 2000/1883). Sá and Oliveira (2002) found out that the ideas associated with the 'discovery' of Brazil were positive in Portugal and in Brazil.

The supposed Portuguese plasticity was confronted with the current reactions to the acculturation phenomena, i.e., Portuguese immigration and emigration. Both phenomena encompassed changes and concerns about the Portuguese culture. On the PEAQ (Castro, 2014a) the question number two was connected to the Gilberto Freyre (1986/1933) main work.

On the current paper the question about the cultural maintenance was also ascribed to the majority group (Geschke, Mummendey, Kessler & Funke, 2010; Rudmin, Villemo & Olsen, 2007), i.e., the Portuguese majority and the Portuguese emigrant samples. Furthermore, the researcher tried also to be aware about the direction of the acculturation process, motivations, and still about which cultural group was active and passive. According to Soares and Jesuino (2004), the Portuguese were portrayed as active and the Brazilians Indigenous were described as passives.

The three samples were composed by the 'Portuguese majority' with 56 subjects, i.e., Portuguese without emigration experience. There was also a Cape Verdean sample with 39 subjects, living in Oporto, Portugal. And a sample composed by 37 Portuguese emigrants living in Metz, France. The distribution of samples on age and on educa-

tional variables were not balanced (Siegel, 1957). However, those variables were not considered on the current article. The questionnaire answers were computed by SPSS, and were applied the ANOVA and the Bonferroni post-hoc multiple statistical tests.

## 6.2 Gilberto Freyre's dilemmas

As was stated above, the question number two of the PEAQ (Castro, 2014a, b) included some dimensions of the Freyre's thesis (1986/1933). It was devised to check out if the Freyre's thesis was a consensus ideology on the Portuguese culture (and Lusophone), because the dimensions of the Freyre thesis were expected to change, according to the different social status of the samples. The Freyre's thesis (1986) was divided into four dimensions: empathy, cultural plasticity or adaptability, cultural mixtures and ethnocentrism. The four dimensions were devised as dichotomous.

### 6.2.1 Empathy and cultural plasticity dimensions

Empathy was considered a psychological condition for acquiring cultural adaptation. The items that encompassed the empathy dimension were the item 2.1 (The Portuguese cause sympathy on all people) and the item 2.2 (The Portuguese did not cause sympathy on all people). The empathy dimension assumed that the Portuguese were more empathic than other cultures.

On the H 2 the observed results reported that the Portuguese majority sample answered that the Portuguese people caused empathy on all cultural groups. On the dichotomous item 2.2 (The Portuguese do not cause sympathy on all cultures) the Portuguese majority sample was consistent with the answers provided to the first item, because most of the sample did not agree with the item. The Cape Verdean sample also agreed with the empathic capacity, however at a lower level than the Portuguese majority sample. Despite the small difference among the samples, the Cape Verdean immigrant sample shared the Freyre thesis with the Portuguese samples. On the Portuguese emigrant sample, the item 2.1 (The Portuguese cause empathy on all cultures) got the highest levels of agreement of the three samples (54% of subjects totally agreed). Thus, the empathy dimension was shared by all samples.

According to Freyre (1986/1933), the Portuguese have a greater cultural adaptability than other European cultural groups. The items that encompassed the adaptability (plasticity) dimension are the items 2.5

(The Portuguese adapt to all cultures) and 2.6 (The Portuguese do not adapt to all cultures). On the Portuguese sample the observed data confirmed the expected outcomes, because the sample agreed with the dimension of the Portuguese adaptability.

On the item 2.5 (The Portuguese adapt to all cultures) the Cape Verdean sample was expected to obtain lower levels of agreement than the Portuguese majority sample. The item 2.6 (The Portuguese do not adapt to all cultures) was expected to get higher levels of agreement. The expected results were confirmed. The Cape Verdean immigrant sample was at odds with the item 2.5 (The Portuguese adapt to all cultures). The results can be explained, due to the social status of the sample, i.e., immigrants in Portugal. On the Portuguese emigrant sample the level of agreement and disagreement was greater than on the Portuguese majority sample. The Portuguese emigrant sample agreed with the supposed high adaptability of the Portuguese people, confirming the expected results.

### 6.2.2 Mixtures and ethnocentrism dimensions

All samples expressed that the Portuguese people cause empathy. This essentialist trait supposedly strengthens the Portuguese cultural adaptability to all cultures. It is also important to notice that were the Portuguese emigrants who ascribed more agreement. The outcomes reported that the Gilberto Freyre's thesis was consensual. However, the empathy and the adaptability traits should be compared with other PEAQ dimensions, i.e., mixtures and ethnocentrism. Those dimensions approached the present reactions regarding Portuguese acculturative changes. The ethnocentrism dimension will not be shown on the current article, because its statistical outcomes were not significant.

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### 6.3 The Gilberto Freyre thesis and the Portuguese emigration and immigration

On the Portuguese culture topics as immigration, 'Age of Discovery' and colonization are supposedly formulated through the same shared ideas (Brettell, 2003; Castro & Marques, 2003; Rocha-Trindade, 1998), such as empathy or cultural plasticity. Those shared ideas forget intercultural conflicts in an increasing globalized world, and they are not establishing a critical point of view about the Portuguese past.

The consensus ideology about the Portuguese plasticity was shared by the Cape Verdean immigrant sample. The consensus ideology was

saying that the Portuguese people were more tolerant than other Europeans regarding intercultural relationships. However, recent researches about racism and discrimination (Castelo, 1998; Marques, 2007) reported that Portuguese were racists as other Europeans. Vala et al. (2008) approached the Portuguese history, its colonial past, and they explained how the 'white' Portuguese reacted regarding immigrants. According to Vala et al. (2008), the luso-tropical theory supposedly weakens the association between intragroup cohesion and orientation regarding minorities, and it avoids open discrimination, but does not avoid subtle discrimination. However, Valentim (2003) found out an association between national identity and prejudice (Figueiredo, Valentim & Doosje, 2011). According to Pettigrew and Meertens (1995), and to Zick, Pettigrew and Wagner (2008), currently the subtle racism is common in Europe.

The contradictions of the Gilberto Freyre's theory (and its limitations) may be revealed by the dimension of cultural mixtures. The research began with the assumption that the Portuguese culture was doing cultural mixtures. The dimension of mixtures aimed to answer to the fundamental contradiction grounded on the Portuguese historical narrative. On the contradiction mixing cultures would not change the Portuguese culture. Most of the Portuguese majority sample obtained the highest level of disagreement of the three samples on the item 2.3 (When the Portuguese mix, they lose their own culture). The Portuguese majority sample agreed with the item 2.4 (When the Portuguese mix, they maintain their own culture), revealing a contradiction of the Freyre's theory, because cultural mixtures are entailing changes.

On the Cape Verdean sample the item 2.3 got disagreement (When the Portuguese mix, they lose their own culture). On the opposite direction, most of the sample agreed with the item 2.4 (When the Portuguese mix, they maintain their own culture). Therefore, the Cape Verdean sample was sharing this dimension. Consequently, the Portuguese and the Cape Verdean samples thought that the Portuguese would maintain their culture, regardless that they prefer mixtures. However, on the Portuguese emigrant sample the item 2.3 obtained agreement. It revealed a high concern about the Portuguese culture. It may be explained, because the sample perceived high levels of economic, symbolic and security threats (see Castro, 2014a). However, the item 2.4 (When the Portuguese mix, they maintain their own culture) obtained agreement, establishing an inconsistency between the two items outcomes. The Portuguese emigrant sample shared the prefe-

rence for the Freyre's thesis, but the sample established a high concern regarding the Portuguese cultural changes.

In short, the Portuguese majority and the Cape Verdean samples shared the Freyre's thesis. Both samples answered that the Portuguese people were not losing their own culture. It established a contradiction, because they answered that the Portuguese would maintain their culture when they mix. It revealed that mixtures were not supposed to change the Portuguese culture. The Portuguese emigrant sample did not share the Freyre thesis. The sample stated that the Portuguese did cultural mixtures, however they ascribed a high concern about their own cultural changes. Thus, it confirmed the H 3 and the H 3.1. Therefore, it was supposed that the Freyre's thesis worked as a consensual ideology (H 3), and the Portuguese culture worked at the same time by "real" and by "ideal" appraisals (H 3.1).

## 7. Conclusion and suggestions

On the Portuguese cultural background the Freyre's thesis worked as a consensual ideology. All samples agreed with the empathic capacity of the Portuguese people, and only the Cape Verdean sample disagreed with the supposed Portuguese ability to get cultural adaptation to any culture. Acculturation and intercultural relationships were inherent to the Portuguese culture, and were part of its historical narrative. However, and revealing a contradiction on the Freyre's thesis, the Portuguese majority sample stated that the Portuguese people would maintain their culture when they mixed. The same can be stated about the Cape Verdean sample, despite their social status of immigrants residing in Portugal. On the contrary, the Portuguese emigrant sample stated that Portuguese culture would lose its culture when they mix, revealing a contradiction on the Freyre's thesis.

According to the outcomes, it can be stated that the Portuguese culture preferred the dimensions of the fusion model. Hence, the Portuguese culture was different regarding the Anglo-Saxon, confirming the H 1 and the H 2. The H 1 was fulfilled, because the Portuguese historical narrative about acculturation reported to be different regarding the Anglo-Saxon culture. On the Portuguese culture the intercultural relationship was done by cultural intervention, and was antagonistic and asymmetric. Yet, the main difference regarding the Anglo-Saxon culture was that the Portuguese reported interaction, reciprocal learning and shared cultures. Consequently, the multicultural model was not appropriated to describe the Portuguese culture.



The cultural difference between the Portuguese and the Anglo-Saxon cultures was also fulfilled, because the motivations shaped the cultural attitudes. Acculturation was triggered by strong motivations. Therefore, regarding the H 2, the importance of motivations was observed, due to intra-group differences. The Portuguese culture reported two-ways of cultural influences. However, acculturation was antagonistic.

The outcomes of the quantitative work reported that the Freyre's thesis was a consensus ideology, because regardless that the samples preferred cultural mixtures, the intercultural relationships were presumed that would not change the Portuguese culture. This contradiction was clear on the Portuguese sample, and even on the Cape Verdean sample. This contradiction was previously reported by Lourenço (1989) and by Almeida (2004, 2007). The contradiction emerged on the Fernão Mendes Pinto's (1974/1614) narrative, because Pinto deplored the violent intercultural relationships, regardless that he adapted numerous cultures. However, he wanted to return to his unchanged Portugal. The contradiction was also visible on the Portuguese emigrant sample, because this sample shared the dimensions of empathic ability and high adaptability. However, the Portuguese emigrant sample provided high concerns about the Portuguese cultural changes. The Freyre's theory, as a consensual ideology, was particularly visible on the H 3.1. On the Portuguese culture there were two types of acculturative appraisals, i.e., 'real' and 'ideal'. Both appraisals operated simultaneously, because the samples, regardless that they preferred an essential dimension of fusion model and of Freyre's thesis, namely the intercultural mixtures, had different preferences according to their social positions.

In further works it will be necessary to contextualize and to adapt the acculturation topic towards the Portuguese culture (and Lusophone). It is required to develop an emic theoretical rational, and their corresponding measuring devices (Castro, 2015). The concerns and the appraisals of the minority cultural group are important. Yet, it is also important to approach the majority cultural group. Portugal provides an example of two-ways of cultural influences, even because it has emigrants and immigrants. Finally, it is necessary to devise a research design with two-ways of cultural influences, because it can improve tolerance and peace. Acculturation is a way of cultural creation, and to report Europeans learning second cultures may promote peace (Christie, 2006), even because culture is learned and shared. However, to report the mutual learning makes people aware of it. Cultural main-

tenance differentiates the multicultural from the assimilation model. To report leaning second cultures and shared cultures with cultural maintenance and changes differentiate the fusion from the multicultural model. However, fusion should be focused as a dynamic process and not as an expected outcome on the future. Furthermore, it can be violent and asymmetric. Acculturation may be approached as a cause of culture along with innovation and cultural diffusion. Acculturation may be also approached as an effect, because cultural changes trigger reactions and appraisals. The main feature of the acculturation phenomenon is changes more than cultural maintenance. The reactions regarding changes are often antagonistic at intercultural and even at intra-group levels. Violent reactions and violent interventions on other cultures should be avoided. The main contradiction placed on the Freyre theory and on the Portuguese culture is pointing out to the major problem of the acculturation phenomenon, i.e., to cultural changes and to their reactions, and the current article does provided a single and undemanding solution for the intercultural conflicts (Elias & Scotson, 1994/1965; Foucault, 1966, 1980).

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